3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F313 Shilluk F313

XV. SONGS.

104. War songs.

A chíp tuí Ño, lue a chíp chin Adíthq; Bul Ajithq! Yuna bbá Nikué; chq ya dyhá á bjo; bbjá gbe bj nuyh jungh; ruj a bjá jungh. Wuru ghuíq lwom lúe! Yuna bbá Nikué! Lue a chíp chine bedyá, bj Ogga tuí lue Nedjithq. Nikué a ghá, luru ghá Jue. 537* 533 724

The wings of the army are drawn up; the army is placed in the hands of *Adíthq*. Bul is strong. I am a servant of *Nikué*, I was nearly left desolate. I tell you the village of God; the king comes with God. The kings arose against the enemy's army. I am a servant of *Nikué*. The army is placed in the hands of our grandfather, in *Ogga*, as far as *Nedjithq* war is raging.

Fbré q bábí nuyo, ma Nikué? fbré q gbe bj ngá!

Who shall inherit your village, you son of *Nikué*? Your village will be built by queens!

Wu ghbyá ghbyá! Fa Nikué fa ruj ghmé, bedyá á bjdh, bj Wgwakuor á bjdh; bedyá fa thgg! chyyá a dhdh, ka Ojhq bbá gbe, Arwenjdhi, fa wdhá Gbdjwajá, fa wdhá Abél! wuí ghyyá ghbyá, fa Nikué fa ruj ghmé.

Let them carry (people) away! The house of *Nikué* will never be finished, my people refuse (to surrender), *Wgwakuor* refuses; my people are not to be played with! One will always be left; and he will follow them (the enemies), *Arwenjdhi*, from the village of the children of *Gbdjwajá*, the village of the children of *Abél*. Let them carry away, the house of *Nikué* will never be finished.

Agbggbbá Anchó-wuto, wq tuno dyirdh. A wuqá, a wuqí ya, dq bjbá Fbjá. Mbrbá rdj fa dbjpí rd, muchu rdj fa dbjpí rq. Abbá-Nikué, a bjá jungh. Muchu ya fa dbjpe rq.

Agwgjang Anowgwuo is cursing the Turks, they are coming near, they are approaching on the way, they come up the mouth of the forest. But the fire of their guns will return on themselves, their fire will return on themselves; Abolo Nyakwo he comes (against them) with God. Their fire will return on themselves.

Tá fbí bjá fb, ya fbí bjo bbá, Nikué, ya fbí bjo fb, ya fbí bjo fb, jué dwjá, ya fbí bjo fb.

I am tired of being waylaid, I am tired of being watched upon, *Nikué*, I am tired of being waylaid, my master, I am tired of being waylaid.

3:Westermann E-5 (3916) 1912 F323 Shilluk F323

4531
●533
721

Kè di kpè Ayadi, nyi Jiji, ya re (de) Dhè yiny, yi yiddi Kbè Alel, yè yiddo yi kwiny, kpè Alel, nwei Wiji.
But for Ayadi, the son of Jiji, I should have left my country, and gone far away; I have been saved by the strength of Alel, I have been saved by our grandfather, the powerful Alel, the son of Wiji.

Yè Dhè, yi kwacho dè? Ya kwacho dhè! Chè ya kpè kwe, fwre yaa. Ya yiddi yi kwè Ayadi. Wadè Ye Dhè gbèy gwok kè tè, kwia fo lie nyiny.
You son of Dhè, what do you ask for? I ask for a lion, for wherever I go I love the ground. I have been preserved by our grandfather Ayadi. The mother of the son of Dhè has built us a house under the dolieb palms; the branches of the dolieb are like an enemy.[1]

Nyiè kyè Nedèny, ya chèè, ya yèdè, nyiè kyè Alel, nwe Dyè, ya chèè yè yèdè.
By the door-keeper of Nedèny I walk, I am filled with it, by the keeper of Alel, the mother of Dyè, I am walking, I am filled with it.

Alel a dwè nwè; yè nyiè ri. Ki nyè gwook, ntwe yiyè dhè. Dhè a chwyo, chwyo chwoo Dhyè.
Alel has returned. I live through him free from oppression. The anxieties of my heart were many. But Dhè roared, he roared the white people away to Dhyè.

Nyuj ki gyèdè, nyuj ki gyèdè, gyèwe Dhè yè, nyuj ki gyèwe . . . .
Each one has his own fowl, each one has his own fowl, but all fowl belong to Dhè.

Ye nyyi nyi! gwe gin dèdy? Iwenj! Tèny gwajy wwè. Kyyè a kpè yi chwoo. Kwayi fo dhè, ne Dhè a kpè jwgè. Ki gyè kwwè kbè ne, ne kyin wiy twè! Chwoo chwoo yèkè yèn. Tèny kpe nyè yèè ye. Kwa a nyè yèè? Yen a nyi dèdy. Shinyè, dyè kwiyi, yi y ndè ki dwo nyiny.
I am fleeing away, shouting loud! What is the matter? "The white people!" the people are shouting loud. "The dura is being carried away by the white people!" — But our grandfather is not absent. The son of Dhè is coming with God. Ye people, take your shields! We will go this way! The white people want to take away all our property. Other people have not been robbed by them! Who ever dared to take away my goods? I, the king of the people! Ye Arabs, turn back your boats, fight another tribe!

[1] The rustling of the leaves of the dolieb palm is like the rustling of an army; so that when the enemy approaches the village, they imagine they hear an army, and flee.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F213 Bh2Bab F213

103. Mourning songs, and others.

587*
5330

Aba na Nikwi, Anyajo wá-ejó. Fó ejhwi ye dhiá twálí. Lwaa fwa dyi, fó fwa wáa. Anyajo kwpi, wapi Kwdjówú, dy kíí, dyá á twálí, fay dyá á twálí, fay dyá a ghú. Ayhwall fway fhya.

Aba, the son of Nikwi, my father Anyajo, is no more. Look at me, I am left poor. Lwayi is away, he, our chief, Anyají Lwayi, the son of Kwajwio. Our family is left desolate, our village is left desolate, our house is left unprovided. Ayawáll, he was a great chief.

Afjyá wat Dwk, lúwaj ejo. Anyuí-hfjá gya ghwú, a kwaya Ajwpi-wjwjá.

Afjyá, the son of Dwk, is waylaying in the grassy place. Anyuíhwk loosens a cow and gives it to Ajwpi-wjwjá, to herd (= to possess) it.[1]

Ayúdjáa, wapi Ryuí-twdjá Wwa-dáhwí, Ayúdj, Wwá-gúá-tdjí, ya wwa hj yá hwa a hjpí fw.

Ryúdwwa Wwadáhwa, Ayúka, Wwaagwáhwí Ayúdwka, I lost the way in which he went.

Ahwdwdjáfw, yéwa wáte jóo, do ya dhiá hjo! Jtúdjfá, Ahwyawyyo, kwdwj fo ywwa pwí. Gy hj wwdu wwyo dyá á hjo. Ahwpí a fjhú fjá: ye yuyú fhyy Dwdjfá, ye yuyú Ohwwwí, Ajhú-wdwa ywwá, Nwwdjfá.

Akwwaayo, you captured people, but I was left poor! Jtuglwk, Akwwaayo, their grandchildren are dying in the wilderness. They live in misery, are left destitute. Ahwpí threw me out into the bush. I am searching for chief Dwdwk, I am searching for Ohwwwí, Ajuhyudwa-ywwá, Nyawwáfwí.

Ahwyawyyo, yí hjjo hjo hj hwhjyí? Ahwdjy wapí fhfj. Ohlw-hjwí a ghjí ohlw. Ohlw wa Nikwi, Dwhjí wapí K'ór, Kwhhjí a ghjí ohlw. Na Nikwi hj wwapí fhfj.

Akwwaayo, whose have you brought people? Ahwdjy has never been cursed by his relations.[2] Ohlw-hjwí is a preserver of men in the famine. Ohlw, son of Nyikwaj, Dwhjí, son of Kwr is a preserver of people in hunger, a son of Nikwi and of his mother fhfj.

Agwdjywwdwdwj, fw a fhj ohjá, lwwh a wjá, Agwdjí na Nikwá! Dy ywyyy wwá hjhy wwáj ohjwj.

Agwwdjywwdwdwj, the country is starved, the people are dying. Agwwí, son of Nyikwaj, they are mourning, stretching up their hands.

[1] A song of cattle stealing. [2] Has always been loved.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

4539 *Adgí-nwé, gí kgo kpé? Nwɔ́ɔ́ o nwɔ́, yo kgo fiwé lówé jwɔ́, Awɔ́n, ne Yɔ́r.*
•533 "Adolung, where are you going?" "The Nuers are approaching, I am going to the town of God, oh Awon, son of Yor."

Akwé Dhá ne Ñíkwé, Kɔ́yɔ-Dɔ́rɔ́, Akwɔ́kɔ́n, Akwé-Kwɔ́lwé, ne Ogwá Fɔ́lɔ́, kwwé gɔ́n, yo gíllí gín, a yíjɔ́n yín ɛ́dɔ́n ké dyɔ́rí, yo yíllí. Yɔ́dɔ́l, nwɔ́n Dhá, Awɔ́l ne Ogwá (ne Shwɔ́l), kwɔ́rí ní fyɔ́n ní fyíwé: Shwɔ́ kpé? Kɔ́ɔ ne wíjɔ́; ɔ́wɔ́ ní gíwé kɛ́? nwɔ́n shíjɔ́ yɔ́wɔ́ké ké Dhá, wɔ́jí chwɔ́ɔ́ ywɔ́n, kwɔ́k Awɔ́l, ne Ñíkwé.

Akwé, Duk, son of Nyikang, Kayo Doro, Akoloko, Akwé Kwolwé, son of Ogwá Folo, you grandfather of men, I am preserved by you, I have been saved by you in ancient times, I have been preserved. Yakwé, you father of Dhá, Awol, your people are continually asking me, "has Shwé gone?" Hunger is approaching; where has he gone, he who preserves the descendants? Licking of hands[1] I found at Doro, eating of corn found I, you people of Awol, the son of Nikwé.

Ajúk-kɔ́ɔ-wɛ́l-jwɔ́, kwɔ́ɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́, kwɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́wɔ́ fo jwɔ́, ríj ɛ dwɔ́k nwɔ́. Kwɔ́ɔ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ yɛ́n. Ɔ́ɔ́n ì gɛ́jɔ́; yɛ́n ɛ́- Ñíkwé, ríj ɛ dwɔ́k nwɔ́; ɔ́kwé fo yɔ́ɔ́n shɔ́wɔ́? Yɛ́n ɛ́- Ñíkwé; fɔ́n a gíjí, a gíjí í rɔ́ɔ́; yɛ́ fɔ́ɔ́ kyɛ́l, yɛ́ fɔ́kɔ́, yɛ́ yɔ́ɔ́n shɔ́ɔ́, Wɔ́rɔ́-kwɔ́, kyɛ́ kɔ́dɔ́!

Ajuk-kwo-wel-jok, I am praying to our grandfather, I am praying to the people of the place of God, the king[2] has returned. I am praying to our grandfather. The holy drum is being beaten, I am with Nikwé, the king[2] has returned to us. Is not my spear in my hand? I am with Nikwé, The country is saved, it is saved, though it was desolate. I am planting my dura; I thank (my ancestors), I lift up my hands, Woro-Kwo, strengthen my arms!

[196] [1] "licking of hands" is an expression for plenty of good food. [2] Nikwé.

? Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk FJ3.3
N'dogo FJ2.

whole body enters into the rhythm. It is this factor which is often overlooked by those who take and analyse phonograph records of native songs. It is difficult for a native to sing in proper tempo and with true pause when he has to keep his head half buried in a phonograph horn all the time; and phonographs are notoriously bad for chorus work, as is well known. Phonographs have their use, of course, where difficult note intervals are met with, as will be obvious from several of the songs recorded here.

The words of these songs count for little, often having nothing to do with the action of the games; some are mere refrains or traps or riddles; sometimes a song is shorn out of recognition, and can only regain intelligibility after thorough dissection on the part of the investigator at a later and calmer period. In this aspect the Shilluks and Nuers are the greatest offenders, many of their songs consisting of mere nonsense syllables, which they themselves do not pretend to understand. (In such cases they usually give out that the words are "Dinka.") This being so, the translation of the remainder given here, where this has been possible, must be regarded as very "free," as more attention has been paid to the song rhythm than to the literal meaning of the words.

It is remarkable how much similarity there is between European children's games and the games that these children play, almost as though there were a sympathetic tie between children the world over. But it is worth noting that we have lost much of our children's music, as witness the number of our games which are played without song. For the sake of simplicity, I shall classify these games roughly under the title of their nearest European equivalent.

[*Note on the music notation.*[1] Although the following tunes have been transcribed in staff notation, it must be noted that the scale intervals in the native singing voice are different from, and probably truer than, those on the piano (which have been compromised to enable one to play in different keys). Hence this rendering must be regarded as only approximate; where there is any appreciable difference between the song and the written note, I have indicated this in the text, the "uncertain note" being marked with an asterisk.

I have also taken liberties with the shape of the notes in these songs where simple and anti-simple are important. Thus: *Simple*: crotchet in italics and notes with tails up; *Anti-simple*: crotchet in normal script and notes with tails down. Where there is no part singing, I have transcribed the words in normal script.]

Ring-Games.

The great majority of singing games necessitate the players' squatting or standing in a ring, therefore I shall begin with a description of the principal squatting games.

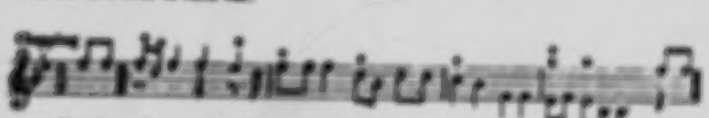
1. *Hand the dipper.*—The "dipper" in this case is a ring or bangle, which is passed from hand to hand. *Fig.* 1, Pl. XV, shows the game as played among the Shilluk. The children sit round

[1] I am very much indebted here to Miss Ursula Strickship, who kindly read over this article in manuscript and offered constructive criticism with reference to the notation.

T/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 T121 Skiffah T111
A.M. 1874
Bell: P35
Lubbock A617

A. E. Tucker.—Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Ovales. 542 S

In a ring, their feet under them. One of them has the missing knuckle, which he passes around surreptitiously. The leader sits in the middle and sings: "Knuckle of my man's wife," and the rest join in: "I want, I want one. Knuckle of your finger. It is lost." They clap their hands on the first beat of each bar. S524

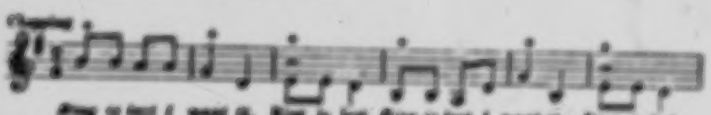


Knuckle of my underpart I want one knuckle of your finger, It is lost knuckle

The leader may turn to any member of the circle, and, instead of clapping with his hands, lays them palm upwards on his knees; the boy now challenged has to lay his hands down palm upwards during the chorus. If he has the knuckle, he has to sit in the circle.

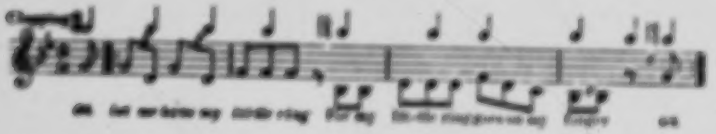
[Note. In the foregoing song there is a note which I have written semitones as D and semitones as Eb. In reality the note lies halfway between the two notes recorded. This, of course, does not refer to all Skiffah songs.]

The Arbah version shows a simpler scale:



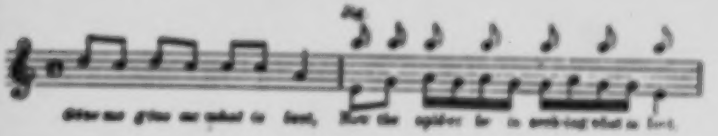
Sing so last I want it, Sing so last, Sing so last I want it, Sing so last

The following song, taken from the Latuko, illustrates how the clapping rhythm can differ from (or not exist) the natural song rhythm:



Oh let me have my circle ring Oh my Oh the ring goes on my finger oh

Among the Bari, the game is played with the legs stretched out in front, while the players sit in a line. One boy hides the ring, and the order is confused by the rhythmic passing of the players' knees. (See Fig. 2, Pl. XV.)



Give me give me what is lost, Now the spider he is sending what is lost

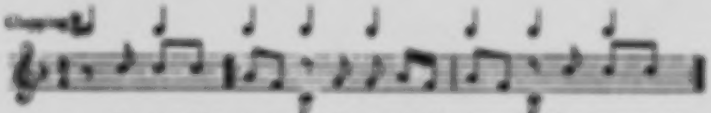
T Tucker E-S (1909-1933) 1933 F323 Shilluk F323
Duke F323
Lee F324

D
S24
[S14]

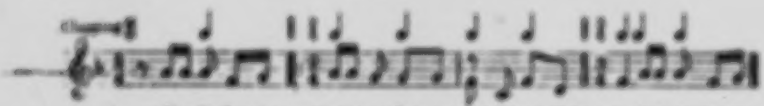
The Dinka have a version similar to the above, but without song. The boys sit in a circle with their legs pointing towards and their feet touching each other, so as to form a circular enclosure, which is called the "pet." Into this pet grass and bits of stick are put by the principal player, who then walks away. As soon as his back is turned, the boys grab what is in the "pet" and hide it. The principal then returns and asks each boy in turn who has stolen his dinner, whereupon it is up to each to give him a witty answer.

S
S24
S33
S38
[S14]

2. "There stands a lady on the mountain." There is a kneeling game, played by Shilluk boys and girls, which I have named as above, for want of a better name. The children sit in a fairly wide circle, with two gaps, facing each other. One girl sits in the middle. Two boys stand outside the ring, opposite each other. The song leader (either a boy or a girly sings (to 3/4 time): "Oh nana child yee," and the chorus shout "Hah" on the second beat.



Meanwhile the two outside boys walk to one of the gaps and flip their fingers at each other, then to the other gap and flip their fingers again. After a while the song (and rhythm) changes to:-



and one of the boys walks into the circle and marks time in front of the girl. If she does not approve of him, she will turn away from him, and he will try to stand in front of her two or three times, but she will always turn away. Then the boy will give up trying to attract her attention, and will walk outside the circle again, and the first song will be sung till it is time for the second boy to enter the ring. If she refuses him too, new boys have to be chosen. If she approves of him, she will gently stroke his legs with her hands, while he marks time in front of her, till the music changes back to the first movement. Each boy usually tries three or four times, and very often a boy who has nobody's favour at one time, might find himself given the cold shoulder the next time, especially if the girl is afraid of being chaffed about him after the game.

S
S24
832

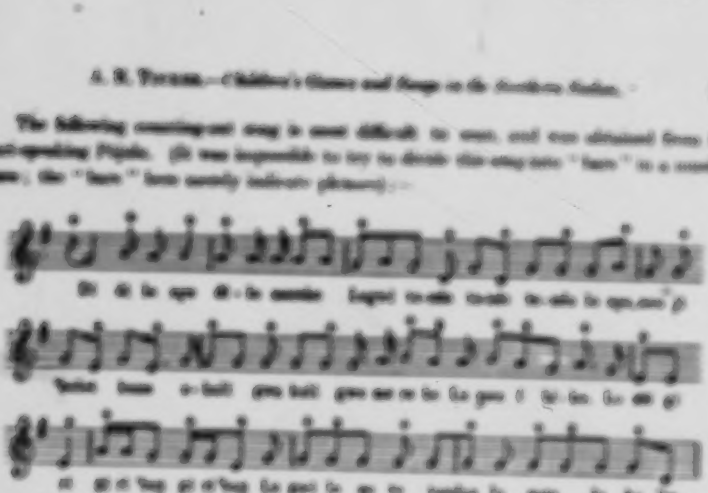
J
S24
171

3. The following kneeling game was obtained from the *Jur*.[1] The formation is something like "Hunt the slipper" among the Shilluk, but there is no knocker. The centre person will sing, and the rest join in, clapping their hands on their knees.

[1] A Shilluk-speaking tribe in the Bahr el Ghazal, in close cultural contact with the Dinka.

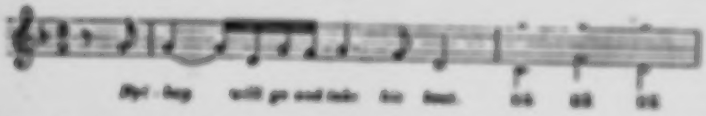
F.Tucker E-6 (1929-1933) 1933 F121 Skottish F121
Box: F25

The following counting-out song is most difficult to learn, and was obtained from the Buchan-speaking Pupils. It was impossible to try to divide this song into "bars" in a manner of music, the "bars" here merely indicate phrases):—

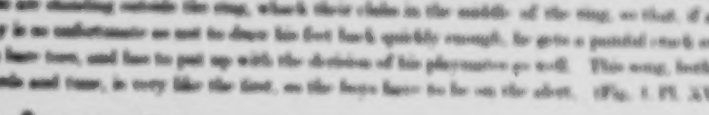


6. "*Skinnie wags*" (*literally eye*)." A very peculiar Method, some what necessitates seeing in a circle with the boys straight in front: may be likened to "Simon says 'Thumbs up'" except that the action is done with the toes. The boys sit round in a sort of circle with their feet stretched out in front of them to meet in the centre, like the spokes of a wheel. The shape of the "hub" of the wheel is, however, square, not round: so for this game eight makes an uneven number for the players. Outside the ring on opposite sides of it, stand two more with clubs. The song-leader sits with the rest.

First counting-out: Song-leader sings, "Sydney Bess about to wear his boat." The boys all lean forward and grab their toes, keeping their knees still, which they shout: "Hugh! Hugh! Hugh!" (Fig. 1, Pl. I.)



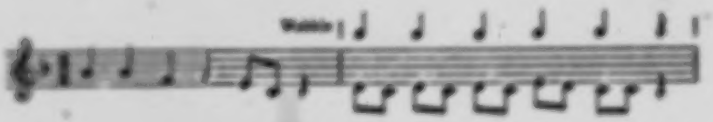
Second counting-out: Song-leader sings, "Here are two clubs." The boys quickly draw their feet back and sing, "Hah! Here are two clubs!" At the word "Hah," the two men, who are standing outside the ring, whack their clubs in the middle of the ring, so that, if any boy is so unfortunate as not to draw his feet back quickly enough, he gets a painful crack over his bare toes, and has to put up with the derision of his playmates as well. This song, both in words and tune, is very like the first, as the boys have to be on the alert. (Fig. 1, Pl. XV.)



(9) A. F. Tozier. (Children's Games and Songs in the Southern States.

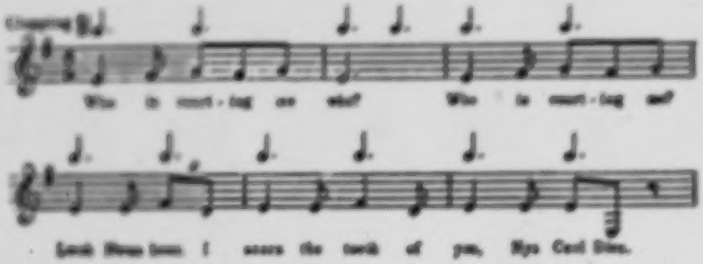
Third movement: The boys all shout together "Open and shut, Open and shut!" At the word "Open," all the toes are bent backwards, at the word "Shut" they are all bent forwards, so that the centre square of toes looks like some great black mouth opening and shutting itself.

Fourth movement: Keeping their feet and toes still, the boys wobble their knees rapidly up and down. I was unable to get the words of this song, but the tune is as follows:—

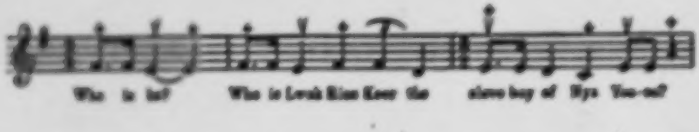


These movements can occur in any order, according to the will of the song-leader.

Fifth movement: Most girls are fond of ring games, but there is little action in those that I have seen. The girls kneel in a ring; one girl sings a song of about three lines, and the rest repeat it, clapping their hands. Then the girl next to her takes up the song, extemporizing upon the same theme with a view to casting a "bit" off one of those present. If she succeeds, she is greeted with yells of approval, and all join lustily in the chorus, while the third girl cudgels her brains for the inspiration necessary to cap this verse if possible. These witticisms usually lie around the names of friends or bear some obscure reference to well-known incidents, with the result that an investigator without intimate knowledge of the children's daily affairs finds the songs unintelligible. This is one of the verses:



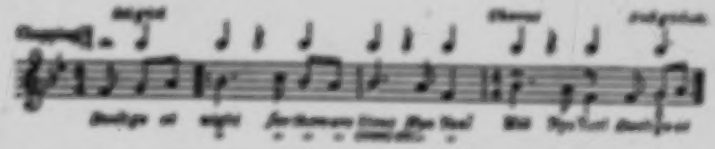
In the following song the voice rhythm (indicated V) differs markedly from the clapping rhythm (indicated):



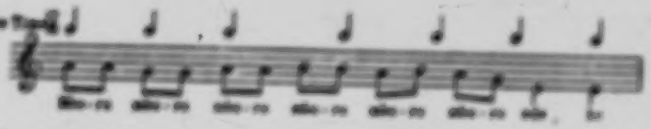
T:Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F321 Shilluk F321
F321 Nuer
F318 Mitta

A. N. Tucker.—Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan. 121

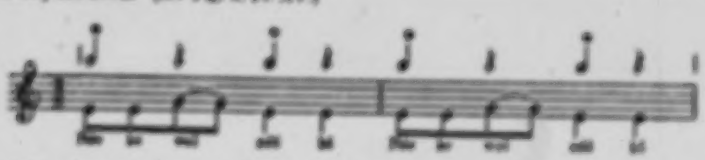
The following singing game requires rapid thought and good memory. Each girl in turn has to think of a different animal's name, the aim being not to repeat the name a previous girl has sung:—



6. *Ring o' Roses.* There are many games which comprise some dancing or capering in a ring. In the following Bako game the players first dance round in a ring, holding hands, singing:—



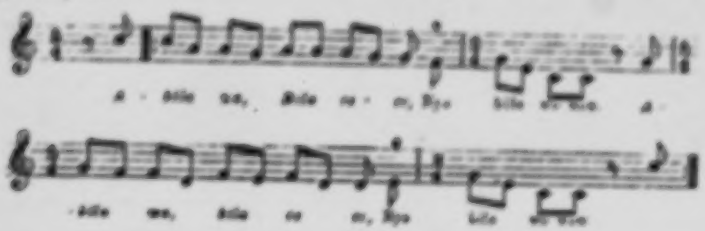
Then, with a change of the music, they swing their right legs over their arms, and leap round until they fall down. (*See* Fig. 1, Pl. XV.)



(*Note.* The note transcribed E sounds somewhere between E and F.)

9. A popular form of "Ring o' Roses" is played as follows. The children contain four parts, but the words of the song have no decipherable meaning. (Here again I heard a game which was difficult to place. I have transcribed it sometimes E and sometimes F.)

First movement: The players stand in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders, and sway as they sing:—



T.Tucker E-5 (1919-1933) 1933

(5) A. E. Tucker. Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan.

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533
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Second movement: The leader will drop his hands and run round the boy to his right and back to his place. (See Fig. 4, Pl. XV.) The boy will now run round the boy to his right, and so on, until everybody has run round his right-hand neighbour, and so on to left with his hands on his neighbour's shoulders. After which the children revert to the first movement. The song for the second movement is sung at almost twice the speed of that for the first movement.

A
B
524

Among other tribes, only the second movement is gone through. In the Latuko song I have transcribed the " mountain note " sometimes as A and sometimes as Bb.

Latuko:

L
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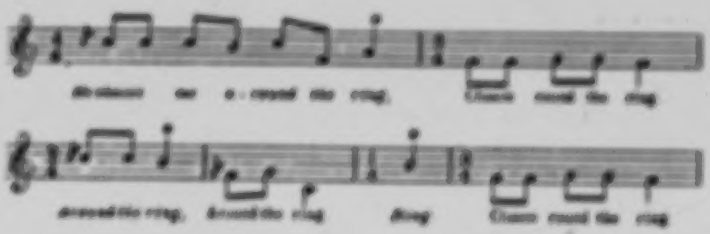
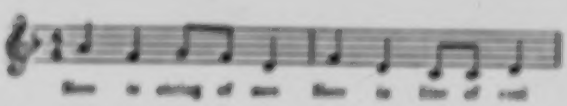


Acholi:

A
533
534



Bari:

B
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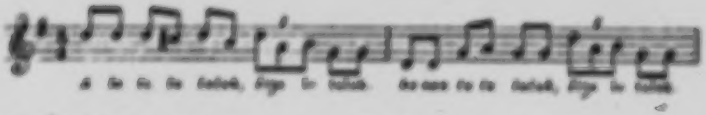

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In the following Shilluk ring-game is a difficult test for the players' rhythmic sense, and many Shilluks fail, much to the derision of their comrades. The players stand in a ring, holding each others' shoulders, and a stick, about three feet long, is laid on the right-hand side of one of the boys, pointing towards the centre of the circle. The players now sing a supposedly " Limba " song, and the boy marks the rhythm by springing, with both feet together, to and fro across the stick. At a certain point in the song, to be determined by himself, he must

Tucker E-S (1869-1933) 1933 F111 Sheffield F111
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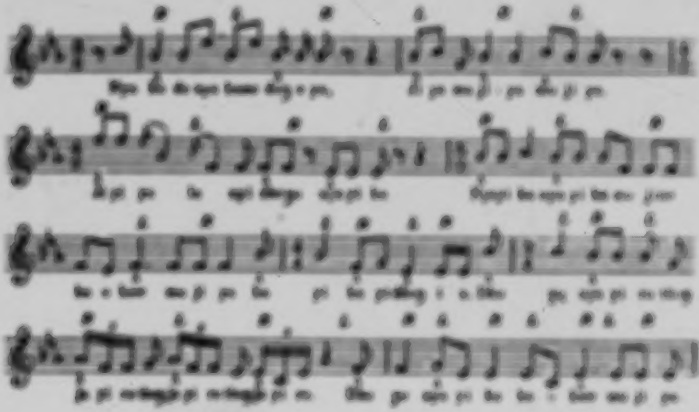
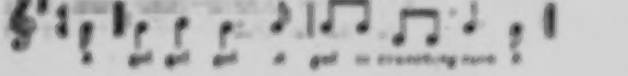
double fan time, i.e. spring from side to side twice as fast, and on the last note be sure and end up on the right-hand side of the stick, i.e. opposite the side from which he began, so that the circle may move round one pace, while his left-hand neighbour has an attempt. Should the unfortunate dancer finish up on the left-hand side of the stick, he is handed out of the game.

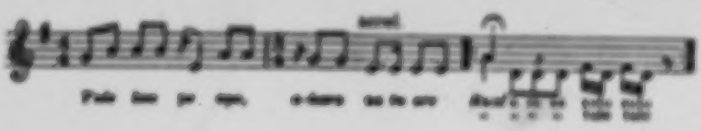
In the following song I have indicated by the letters R and L the jumpings, right and left, of one of the successful players. This is, of course, not the only way in which the rhythm is distributed :—



11. *Another Shilluk jumping game consists merely of springing from the ground to a regular rhythm, the legs going apart and together. An important point is that the left foot should hit the right ankle when the feet come together in mid-air.*



12. I have seen among the Latuko a form of ring game in which, at the word "run!" the song-leader will swing his section of the line into the middle of the circle. When this is done very vigorously, it is hard for those on his immediate left and right to keep their feet.



Miller F32
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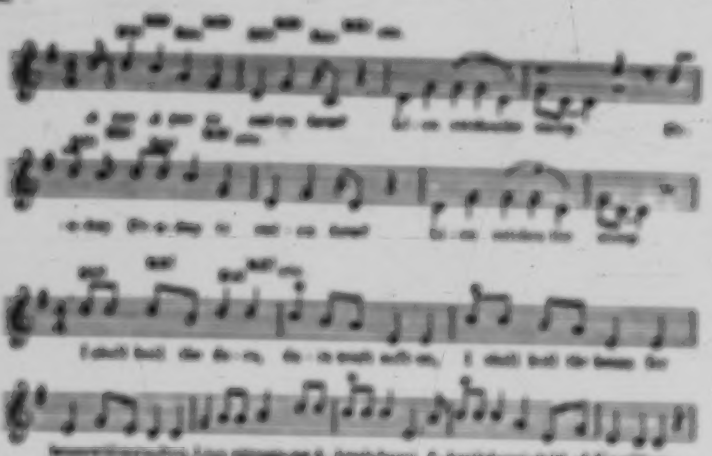
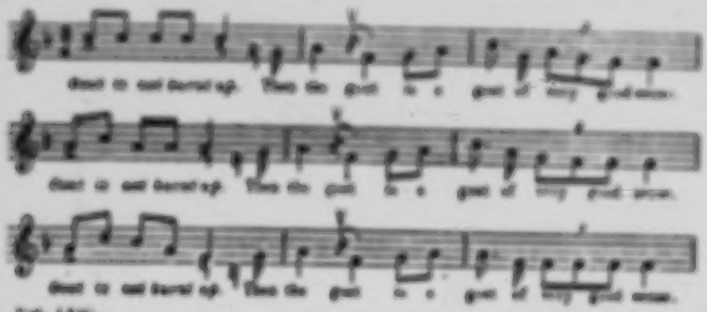
Of the two songs recorded here, only one of them has any reference to the game to be



Among other tellers the game ownskins were our game of "Cat and Mouse." The singers stand in a large circle, holding hands. The Leopard has to chase the Sheep in and out of the circle, the two calling to each other with growls and bleats. The Sheep is allowed to rush in or out under challengers' arms, but the Leopard's progress is barred as far as possible, and he has to try to break through. When caught, the Sheep becomes Leopard, and a new victim is sought.

The singers incessantly jog from one foot to the other during the game, as we have so often heard with while singing. Here again the words of the song need have no reference to the game.

Chicken:



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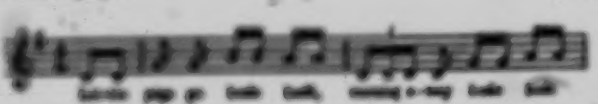
Mchuki P314
Lehuko P317

[illegible] A. E. Dawson. Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan.

They show the real boy will stand still, and the rest of the line then proceeds to sway itself round him, singing:



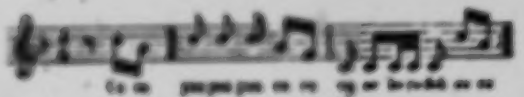
The whole game is done at the double, and is played much faster than among the Ashuli. The words have nothing to do with the game, being an often set, indigenous Sudanese ballad.

Game Number.

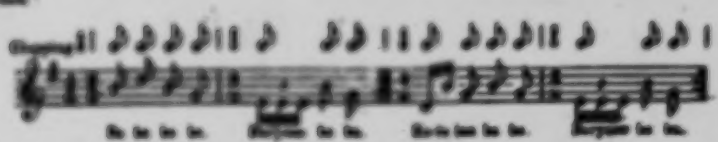
16. Changes and Lessons. The versions of this popular game differ from tribe to tribe, but all have this feature in common, viz. the two principals stand facing each other with their arms resting on each other's heads, but they keep their palms against each other in a rapid rhythm, while the other members of the game dash through the arch. The game is considerably more vigorous than among European children, and the "last man" is seldom captured without a scuffle.

Mchuki:

Lehuko:



Ashuli:



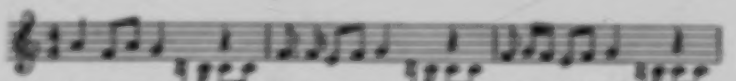
The "last man" is treated worryingly. Among the Mchuki he is banished from the game, and this continues until only two players are left, and these have to chase each other. Among the Lehuko and Ashuli the game proceeds upon more European lines. The captured player is

T/Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 F223 Shilluk F223
Nuer F223

—Love Games.

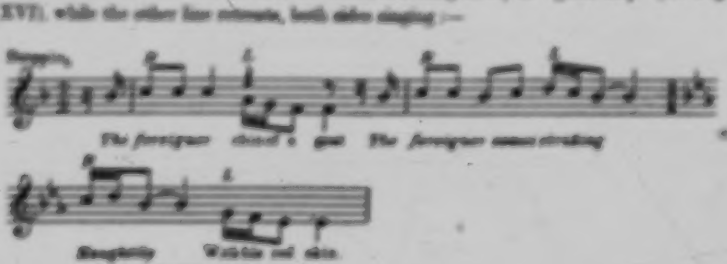
N 534 11. **Nuts and Hay.**—The Nuers have a form of this game of which the details are rather vague. The children stand in two lines, facing each other, some dozen yards apart. A member of one line advances towards the other line with a peculiar prancing step, waving his hands above his head, singing :—

N 533 534

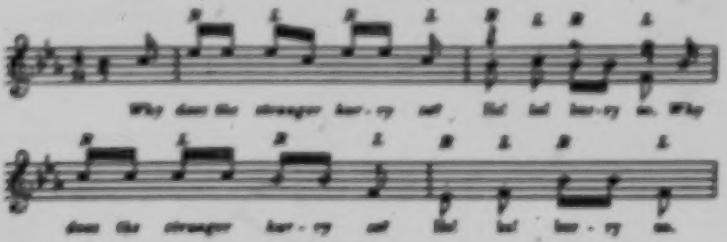


(The words, so far as I could make out, are meaningless.) He singles out a member of the other side and chases him round both lines and back to his place. What happens if he catches him I could not find out.

S 534 533 534 The following Shilluk version is evidently a recent invention, and probably confined to the particular group of Shilluks I was studying. The boys line up in two ranks, as if for "Nuts and Hay." One line advances towards the other, marching slowly to "grass away" (see Fig. 4, Pl. XVI), while the other line retreats, both sides singing :—



Then the song is repeated, while the other line advances, and so on, to and fro, several times. Suddenly the pace is doubled; the boys running still legged, those advancing trying to kick the shins of those who are retreating. The song now is :—



As before, on every repetition the direction is changed

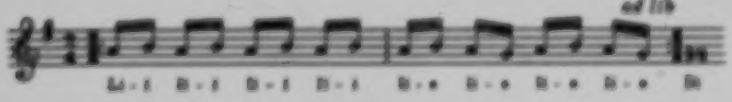
Tucker E-S (1929-1933) 1933 F323 Dhilinh F323

This game is definitely a bit on the white man. The "skin of a goat" in the first song refers to the hands of the R.C. missionaries (inserts being considered unseemly among the Nilotic tribes); while the kicking in the second song is thought to be a skit on the average official's use of his boots when angry or impatient.

19. *Holding one's Breath.*—A much more popular line game among all tribes is that of holding one's breath for a certain period. The Shilluk play it as follows. The boys line up in two ranks as if for "Nuts and May." One boy on one side places the tips of the fingers of one hand on top of his head, takes a deep breath, and proceeds to walk briskly round the other line of boys and back to his own place, chanting in step :—

without drawing breath until he gets back. If he chokes or his voice catches, the rest chase after him and pinch his arms. The boys go out alternately from each side in turn, but one boy must not wait till his neighbour is in before setting out himself. If too many boys get back safely, the lines withdraw till a greater distance separates them.

Not all tribes sing for this game. The Bari and Latuko merely march round humming on one note and pinching their noses at intervals. The Acholi sing the following song :—



the "Di . . ." being protracted until the boy is back in his place.

Imitations of Animals, etc.

Though really coming under a different category, the following few games are included here by virtue of their songs :—

20. *Buck-buck in a Trap.* (See Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. XVI.) This game is played by the Azande, and its success depends entirely on how the principal player can imitate the animal's movements. The boys stand in a ring, holding hands. One boy is in the middle, and he is "Gbodi,"

7:Tucker E-5 (1929-1933) 1933 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23
Acholi FK4
LOTUKO FJ17

S 524 516

24. *Hoopoe.*—The most clever animal caricature I have seen was among the Shilluk. One boy crouches down and is entirely muffled in clothes. Over his head, from front to back, he holds a stick, grasping it with both hands just in front of his forehead. The stick is also covered with a cloth, and the front end tied with string, so that the crouching figure looks like some great bird with a long bill. (*Fig.* 4, Pl. XVII.)

First movement: The bird solemnly nods its head, while all sing: —

S 524 533 539

Second movement: The song-leader sings something that sounds like: —

At the word "Turns," which is emphasized and drawn out, the bird shews its long beak round to one side, giving it a most inquisitive look.

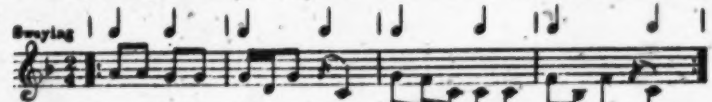
Third movement: The song-leader shouts "Luku-luku-luku!" The bird at once pecks rapidly on the ground.

S 524 [825]

This is a real nature study. The bird here caricatured is known as the "Hoopoe"—a harmless little bird, with an air of stupid solemnity, and the three movements described above are characteristic. No one who has seen the bird could fail to recognize it in the boys' game.

25. *Canoe.*—The boys sit in a line, some dozen or so of them, each with his feet on either side of the boy in front, as though tobogganing. They sing, rocking gently from side to side: —

S [533 539]



Suddenly the song-leader shouts "The boat is sinking! the boat is sinking!" With a concerted cry of "Heigh!" the whole line heels over on to one side. They recover, and heel over on to the other side. They recover, and heel over backwards; after which the boat resumes its interrupted journey. (*Fig.* 5, Pl. XVII.)

S [197] A L 529

Strangely enough, I have met with a similar game among the Acholi and Latuko, although both are inland tribes. Among the Acholi the boys sit one behind the other, as in the Shilluk version, while the song-leader walks round with a strong stick in his hand. At a given moment he places the stick against the shoulders of the squatting boys and sings: —

A 533 539

In fact, the tradition of the Shilluk tells us of hostile relations between them and the Fung, and their first encounter, as was stated above, was on a battlefield. It is quite logical that, as the Fung extended their domains across the White Nile to the Nuba mountains and the Kordofan, the Shilluk were also -for a time- incorporated in the Fung domains. 72) We must not exempt the Shilluk from sharing the same fate with other Negro and Negroid neighbouring tribes. Many of the members of these tribes were transplanted to the Sennar area, forming the bulk of the Fung armies. It is recorded that these people gave their old village names to the new villages where they were living in service of the Fung Empire. Shilluk were among the Sennar armies, and Bruce rightly said that Shilluks are the troops of the king. And owing to the extreme aloofness and haughtiness of a Shilluk, it is not possible to explain the existence of Shilluk in the Fung army, or the transplantation of these Shilluk outside their country as an act of free will on the part of the Shilluk, or as free lancers serving the military ambitions of their deadly foe. The Shilluk must have been compelled to such acts under coercive conditions. We must always bear in mind that the Shilluk were facing a better organized enemy, with cavalry, which was totally unknown warfare equipment to the Shilluk. The Shilluk may have been excellent in using their tactics of surprise attacks, and on relatively isolated groups, but should this tactic succeed against organized armies with cavalry?

Recorded in the Shilluk songs are many pieces describing the frequent Arab slave raids, the havoc they played with the Shilluk, and prayers to the Shilluk former kings and ancesters to help them against the marauders. How could it be possible then to understand the situation arising from the assumption of a Shilluk origin of the Fung, or the statement of Arkell telling us that the governor of El-Ais was ruling the Shilluk relatives on the White Nile? How could it be possible that the Fung would forget their origin and loot their relatives, subduing them to slaves or mercenaries? And if the Fung did not themselves raid the Shilluk on account of alleged blood-relationship, why did they not afford them protection against Arab raids if we know that the Arab raiders are included in the Fung domain?

The other aspect upon which Arkell leaned was the killing of kings in Sennar, and the resemblance of this habit with that which prevails among the Shilluk. But we have invalidated this statement upon qualitative grounds.

If kings of Sennar were killed lawfully by a royal executioner, which in itself is not a fact agreed upon, they were killed on a totally different basis from that which was practiced among the Shilluk. Furthermore, we know that Shilluk kings were either suffocated, or clubbed to death, but with the Fung, a king

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72) Arkell, (B), p. 17. He states that "The Fung Kingdom at its prime included most of the present Sudan, from Hannek in the north to Beni Shangul and the Shilluk country in the south ..."

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

484 562 624 future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

431 425 484 626 [535 513] A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God. We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

[753 755]

431 425 [788] When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

425 556 431 [533] A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

425 431 After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once, in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

476
to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*) [264] sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [562] No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533] back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age-578
mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more permanent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system, 554
but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613
621

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

drums began to beat, and the dancers, after dancing round the drums, moved off to salute the tomb of the late *reth*, singing the chant of Nyikang. They then broke up into smaller parties, each led by one or more of the important chiefs present, who brandished their swords in the air in front of them. The sons of the late *reth* did not take part in the dancing, but his wives and female relatives were much in evidence, dancing in front of and around the tomb and round the village, carrying the late *reth's* spears. Each party in turn visited the five huts of the late *reth*, the ordinary dancers singing outside and the chiefs dancing up to the entrances. During this ceremony and on subsequent days, old men and women would often execute *pas seuls*, the women with swords or performing the symbol of mourning by casting dust into the air. Some men imitated lions, and old people danced round the byres where the cattle of the late *reth* had been stabled.

After half an hour of dancing the drums stopped, and everyone sat down, but they began again after a short interval and the crowds took up the chant of *reth* Yor. The songs of the other *reths* were also sung, of Fafiti (two in number), of Yor, Kur Nyidhok and Kwathker, and occasionally the chant of Nyikang. Shortly before sundown, the drums were drawn and carried outside the village. The *reth* left for Fashoda and the dancers dispersed to their homes.

The Public Dance.

Early the next morning, crowds began to collect in the village, and women, mostly *bangreth*, danced round the village singing and moving up to the houses of the late *reth* each in turn. No drum was beaten, the women advancing and retreating with a limping stride – one long pace, one short, with the emphasis and weight on the former. Individual women were also dancing around with sticks or with the swords of their husbands.

The new *reth* arrived at 10.30 a.m. and went straight to his house without appearing in public. Shortly after his arrival the warrior

As Nyikang proceeds with Dak he sees beside him, the escort chants

643 778 [533] the songs of Nyikang and Dak recounting their exploits of conquest. From time to time Nyikang turns round and dances back as if to threaten those following. When he does this, Dak rushes ahead, carried in a charging position, his body held horizontally pointed like a spear, and Nyikang himself is carried 'at the slope'. The place where Nyikang spends the night is unpredictable. He does not move much after sunset, and normally spends the night in a shrine.

[417] Nyikang was observed at rest at Moro, the northern limit of his progress, obviously propped up upon his "bed", a long forked stick with a leather flap hanging from the fork. He was inside the fence of the large shrine, and outside under three large *heglig* trees, sacred to Nyikang, the people of Moro and the Kwanyikwom were dancing in his honour.

[536] The dancing at Moro was of a usual type. The dancers dancing in an anti-clockwise direction around the drums of Nyikang. The [533] burden of most of the songs was the conquest of the "Funy" and their ejection from Shilluk country. It was thought that Nyikang would stay two nights at Moro, but he was late and in a hurry. He left that same afternoon and returned to Akurwa on the 28th. On the 29th he started for Fashoda.

Nyikang was next observed at Golbainy south of Kodok on the 6th March. (He is said to have stayed in the following places—1.3.44 Nun, 2.3.44 Adod Thuro, 3.3.44 Athodwoi, 4.3.44 Detwok (Pabiu), 5.3.44 Kodok (Ninmal).) When Nyikang spends the night at a village, [574] the houses must be vacated by the villagers for the Kwanyikwom, who have also a right to be fed.

On the 6th March Nyikang arrived before midday at the village of *reth* Fafiti in Golbainy, where he spent the heat of the day. We arrived shortly after Nyikang and observed that he had been put into one of *reth* Fafiti's houses (not the tomb). There were dances around 533 the big *heglig* tree in the village similar to the dances at Moro. A large 535 contingent of female *baugreth* were the most obvious element led by 643 the senior *bareth*. The little drums of Nyikang were beaten under

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the tree, and the boys and young men danced round with millet stalks, while the women clustered in the middle round the drums. The usual songs of Nyikang and of the various *reths* were sung, and we observed the *pas seuls* by *bangreth* with or without swords, often in little groups of five or six old women. There was no dancing inside the fence surrounding the tomb, and the crowd was noticeably small, consisting only of Kwanyikwom and a few surrounding villagers. At 3.30 p.m. there was no activity in the village, and we thought Nyikang must have gone. However, when an old woman who was sitting in the shade of a house was asked, she said "of course he is still here; are you fool enough to suppose our king would travel in this heat?" Shortly before 4.00 p.m. the Kwanyikwom began to collect, and a contingent of Ororo from Yoiny were drawn up near by. At 4.00 p.m. a bugler stood up from where he had been sitting in the shade of a byre and blew a call. Some moments later two drummers, each carrying one of the drums of Nyikang, appeared from the house where Nyikang was and beat a tattoo. Then another call on the bugle and the Kwanyikwom, kneeling down, started singing the songs of Nyikang. Later they got up and, joined by the Ororo and the children of the village, danced a solemn measure before the house where Nyikang was staying. Grown men of the Kwanyikwom danced out in front before the door with swords or millet stalks, and we noticed one man with an Ingessana throwing-knife. Soon men brought out from inside the fence some bundles of tightly packed grass, and some ropes made of *dom* fibre. They hung the ropes upon the fence and laid the grass bundles against it on the side of the opening opposite to where the drummers were standing. Shortly afterwards two men carrying baskets of food upon their heads appeared, and two others wound the ropes over their shoulders and round their waists. By this time there was considerable movement inside the fence. The two spears of Nyikang were raised up, and the forked stick upon which Nyikang sleeps. Then Dak appeared and behind him Nyikang himself. The two images posed for a moment or two while the company danced before them. Dak led off the procession at the usual jog trot, and they proceeded round the village to the beat of the drums, stopping at each

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535 643 778 of *reth* Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 778 They passed the village of the new *reth*, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the [533] village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing [535] straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for covering pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put [415 285] them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular [533 539] song was :—

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,

Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his [755] forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

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rope, a pledge of a bull for Nyikang and his people, and then produced an old blackened spear from his house, of unusual type among the Shilluk. After a show of reluctance he accepted a new spear. He later explained that the show of reluctance was due to the fact that the new spear was not an exact replica of the original. We were shown several spears which had been presented at previous installations, and then one was brought out which was the "original." But an old woman sitting by said "Nonsense, that is the one Nyikang presented when *reth* Yor was installed."

After the spear had been presented, the procession moved off to Nyigir. As before, on leaving Golbainy the people of Golbainy left the procession and their places were taken by the people of Nyigir, who grew in number as Nyikang reached the village of Adodo in Nyigir, where he was to stay till the installation

Nyikang, led by Dak, approached Adodo from the back and drew up outside the village while their following sang songs. Then a sheep was brought and tied in the middle of the village by the legs. Nyikang and Dak stepped over it, and Nyikang danced over to the house prepared for him and went in Dak stayed outside for some time, dancing around, faster and faster, charging people who got in his way, until finally he too disappeared into the house.

THE RETH'S FLIGHT TO DEBALO

(P.P.H.)

The march of Nyikang from Akurwa to Nyigir was ended. He and Dak surrounded by the Kwanyikwom and other followers were safely installed in the village of Adodo. They would take their rest there for three days.

Meanwhile the *reth* had anxiously awaited their arrival but had not moved from the confines of Fashoda. In the early hours of the morning after Nyikang had reached Adodo, the *reth* secretly moved to Debalo which is a few miles south of the capital. He was accompanied

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643 for the really significant rites would thus be lost. More detailed descriptions and explanations are recorded in the Notes with numbered references in the text.

The Reth's March from Debalo to Arepejur.

On the morning of March 11th, the *reth* was still at Debalo, and his warriors, together with some of the chiefs of the south who had come in to pay homage to him the day before, began to assemble in the village. By 8 a.m. there were large clusters of them seated in the shade around the houses ready to move off when the *reth* was ready. At this point of the proceedings we were told that the Kwa Okelo, who should have been at Debalo by then, were not ready, and that they were known to be mustering at their village which is only a mile from Debalo. There were obvious signs of preparation within the *reth's* hut, but we saw nothing of significance except the sheep and goats which had been taken that morning from the self-confessed adulterers and seducers of girls. The sheep and goats were brought to the *reth's* house in charge of four men but they were driven back to the cattle byre from which they had been brought after a few minutes. Meanwhile a message had been sent out to the Kwa Okelo to tell them to hurry and to bring with them the small girl (*nya kwer*), (Note 7) who plays so important a part in the ceremonies.

About an hour and half later the Kwa Okelo could be seen in the distance to the south of Debalo. Behind them and mustering in another village were the Kwa Ojul. Both parties began to move off in the direction of Debalo. On their arrival they drew up in close formation outside the village and near to the *reth's* hut. They were 533 carrying spears but no shields and were singing songs. The gist of these songs was that Nyikang had returned with the wind. In the midst of the Kwa Okelo a small cluster of women could be seen and among them *nya kwer*, and in front of them was a single man who, carried aloft a small basket covered with a grass mat, doubtless *nya kwer's* "luggage." The Kwa Okelo marched into Debalo, but the Kwa Ojul remained outside and did not join the procession until the

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643 happy to be given to *Kwaa*[16]? Perhaps you too are praying just as we are? Do you know *Kwaa*? He is there being guarded; soon he will come out and start his journey." Then the old man addressed Nyikang, "*Kwaa*, you are great; we are all your children, even this goat, and we are here to serve you." Then the goat was led away. I asked about the goat and they said it would not be killed, but would return to the flock as a sign that all the flocks belonged to Nyikang.

[273] About this time I heard one of the young men say he was thirsty and when I jokingly asked him if there was no beer in the village for them, he said that no beer would be drunk that day in all the land, until after the king had been inducted at Fashoda.

I asked about the gods and they said they were being prepared for the journey and soon would come out of the houses. The houses were not shrines but belonged to the chief of the village, and nothing had been done to them except a new fence of cornstalks built around [778] the door. I asked if I might go inside the enclosure, and when no one objected, I entered the *kal*, and found six men seated on the ground and two sacred drums one on each side of the door of the house, each on a cow skin. I took some pictures of the *kal* with the men and drums, but when I suggested that I enter the house where Nyikang resided, they demurred, and one man took up a position against the mat door, to bar my entrance.

At 8.50 the two drums were beaten five or six strokes each, and I thought things were going to start, but all the people bowed themselves to the ground and said, "*Kwaa* speaks. *Kwaa*, you are great *Kwaa*, speak to us."

533 643 [534 778] Five minutes later, two young men came out of the *kal* carrying the sacred drums (small black drums not unlike kettle drums), and each sat on a cow-skin and alternately beat his drum with the handle of a hippo-hide whip. (These drums they call *thom*). The beat was not that of a dance, but a regular tum, ta, ta, ta, tum; repeated over

16. *Kwaa*—our ancestor.

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and over. The men beat alternately, and were accompanied by the people seated on the ground in front of them chanting together, " *Kwaa*, you are great, *Kwaa*, you are great."

A few minutes later young men brought out bundles of sticks and ropes called *ongero*, which had been brought from the Fanyikang district near Tong-.

At 9.15 a messenger appeared from Fashoda and the tempo of the drums was increased. Soon everyone in the village (including the women who had been keeping close to their houses) was seated in front of the houses. As the beat increased the people began to chant together " *Kwaa dibong*, *Kwaa dibong* ", and to lean forwards and backwards. One man asked me why I did not place my hands on the ground and say " *Kwaa dibong* ", and when I asked him if one should worship with the lips or with the heart, he quickly got the point, and said it was bad to worship only with the lips, for Nyikang would know. Then four men appeared with baskets on their heads over which were spread small mats. On inquiry I was told that no one knew just what was in the baskets, but on later inquiry I discovered they were the " things of Nyikang " such as his shoes, cloth, beads, food, and the like. At this point an old woman appeared from the house, and I was told she had been preparing Nyikang for the journey, and she was called *nyakwer* (Note 13) or *nyibang Nyikang* (slave of Nyikang). It seems she is something of a priestess in that she takes care of Nyikang at the village of Akurwa and resides in the temple of Nyikang. She now led the people in song, a few words of which I was able to get, and which were as follows :—" Open your mouth, Great One, and speak to us. Tell us what you are going to bring to us. Promise us the things we beg of you." This was repeated over and over with the old woman leading and the others following antiphonally.

The point behind the song is that these people of Akurwa are guardians of Nyikang, and they will not stir out of their village unless the new king promises them great riches. The new king had promised

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were as long as the body. Dak could rest on the ground[17] on the end of the bamboo pole, but Nyikang was never taken off the shoulder of the man carrying him.

As the procession started another sheep was sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the ground in front of the marching men. Dak and Nyikang led side by side, with the two drummers taking their positions on each side and constantly beating the drums. The men with the six baskets came next, and then the men with bundles of sticks and ropes. Finally all the followers fell in behind.

The village was circled three times at a half trot, all keeping time with the drums, and then they started for Fashoda at 9.30 a.m. Relatively few people were in the procession as they started, but hundreds began to gather in from all sides until there were approximately six hundred followers when they reached the *kal wi jang* (place of calling together). Two hours were required for the procession to go two miles, for there was much dancing and singing, moving forward and again backwards, along the whole way. As the people danced along in rhythm to the drumbeat they also sang "open your mouth, Great One, and bring us your promises" or "open your mouth and answer our beggings." From time to time Dak would run out ahead as if to survey the road, and then come back to his place beside Nyikang. If the people crowded too close, Dak would run after them, and everyone would scatter as if the devil were after them.

On reaching a spot within half a mile of Fashoda the procession stopped and waited until messengers had gone to meet the king's party coming from Debalo. They brought back with them some cattle tethering ropes as tokens of the cows and bulls to be paid. One or two of these were refused by the elders who were gathered under a tree, and the messengers had to go back again. Finally all was arranged, and with much shouting and drum beating, the procession started for Fashoda to meet and fight with the followers of the approaching king.

17. We think that Dak never rested directly on the ground but on the bearer.

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with news of Nyikang's refusal, but is again sent to fetch her, this time accompanied by the chief of the Gol Nyikang. On their repeating the *reth's* demand Nyikang falls into a fury of rage and cries out that he will punish this presumptuous young upstart, who lays such outrageous demands on his property. Immediately he calls for his drummers, who beat out a tattoo summoning his warriors to war. The two envoys of the *reth* return to warn him of Nyikang's anger, and once more the two armies prepare for battle.

This is the traditional explanation of the cause of the second battle, and the tradition was faithfully enacted. Early that morning Jago Ajang of the Kwa Okel was summoned to Aturwic and was seen later searching for *nyakwer*. After talking with the Kwa Nyikwom outside the shrine he went back to Aturwic and returned accompanied by Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang. Together they entered the shrine, but hurried out almost immediately, and the drums of Nyikang began to beat. The Kwa Nyikwom and other followers of Nyikang, both male and female, clustered round the shrine, and the drummers continued to beat the drums either seated inside the withy fence, which surrounds the shrine, or walking round the whole building. An ox-hide was laid in the open space between the shrines and the temporary huts, and the drums placed thereon. Nyikang's followers began to dance and sing, the words of the song indicating that Nyikang was angered and that the *reth* should appease him. The dance continued for some time, the dancers working themselves into a frenzy of excitement, leaping high into the air with arms stretched above them. Suddenly Nyikang and Dak appeared at the entrance of the shrine, and the army began to collect round them. Led by Dak they encircled the shrine three times, and then marched off to the hut known as *gol onger*, where the ropes of Dak and the whips are kept. The Kwa Nyikwom armed themselves with these and moved forward towards the mound, with Dak and Nyikang at their head. At this point another effigy appeared, a smaller one with grey (female) ostrich-feathers for the head and a slim body of twined rope. This was Cal another son of Nyikang. (Note 20).

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The *ororo* then went to fetch the body from Debwor. The remains were put in a special bag made from the hide of a cow-calf sacrificed for the occasion and wrapped in white cloth and the party set out for Kujo, travelling by night and with an advance guard who were entitled to seize small gifts and ransoms from those unfortunate enough to cross their path.[1]

On the arrival of the party at Kujo an ox was sacrificed as *akadh* (a sacrifice to allow them to enter the village) and the remains of *reth* Dak were brought into the *gol dwong*, by now transformed into his *kengo*. The grave was then dug inside one of the two huts[2] and on the second day *heglig* wood (*Balanites aegyptica*) was cut and a new bier (*pam*) was constructed, bound with leather thongs taken from the hide of the ox sacrificed as *akadh*. On this the remains were placed, lowered into the grave and buried. Immediately afterwards the chief (*jago*) of the *ororo* came out singing the song of Nyikang which is the usual signal for the start of public ceremonies and the song was taken up by those outside. On this occasion the crowd proceeded to the river to bathe themselves. Apparently the spirit of the *reth* himself had appeared to one of the *bangreth* in a dream and had demanded that this untraditional rite of purification should take place.[3] After this the duties of the *ororo* were completed and the *kwa* Nyikir took over. *kwa* Nyikir come from Fadong north of Fashoda and are specifically concerned with the funeral dances of Shilluk *reths*[4]

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[1] Fr. Hurst informs me that they travelled fast but not for long distances. They rested for the day at some village where a bull was sacrificed. Only a small party travelled with the *reth*'s remains and it was noticeable that the people kept out of the way. At every large watercourse a sheep was sacrificed, again called *akadh*. The word is derived from the verb *kadho*, "to cross over."

[2] I was not present at Kujo until later, and had I been there, I should not have been allowed to witness the actual burial. The procedure was described to me later and I can only give the bare outline of what happened. I was informed that the grave is of the usual Shilluk pattern—a straight slit-trench with a side chamber below, in which the body is placed lying full length on the right side.

[3] I was unable to discover where this idea originated and whether it had any special significance. I suspect Christian associations since *reth* Dak had been educated for three years at the elementary school at Doleib Hill (American Presbyterian Mission) and had retained links with them.

[4] Nyikir. "Children of the Nile (Kir)." Tradition relates that these people are not Shilluk in origin but were found by Nyikang at a place called Podho Ngu ("the lion country"). Nyikang was attracted by their drumming. On Nyikang's approach they fled into the river where Nyikang captured them and made them his drummers, their specific duty being to beat the drums at the funeral wakes of all subsequent *reths*. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for this information.

Just before dawn they set up the four royal drums on end in holes specially dug in the ground[2] and in the centre of the village opposite the *kengo*. They were beaten for a short while as a signal that the public ceremonies of mourning would begin that day. In addition a fire was lit using fire sticks (*pic mac*), an important ritual item in any Shilluk ceremony, and a sheep was sacrificed.

I reached Kujo that afternoon just in time to see the *kwa* Nyikir enter the village again, singing as they came and carrying the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth and also a basket which I was told contained certain sacred relics including the bell or Nyikang (*orok Nyikang*). The party stepped over a sheep held to the ground in front of them[1] and then took up their position round the drums.

Meanwhile an ox had been tethered near to the drums and a Shilluk warrior stood by, spear in hand. At a given signal he plunged his spear into the ox, missing the heart, and causing only a slight wound in the haunch, with the result that it broke away and had to be despatched outside the village. No particular attention was paid to this unfortunate incident which might have been regarded as an ill omen, and immediately the drums began to beat, the *kwa* Nyikir skipping round them four times and again stepping on to and over a sheep tethered to the ground. The main body of spectators consisting of important persons and the occupants of Kujo and neighbouring villages then entered the arena. These people carrying millet stalks, sticks and swords, but no spears, danced round the drums in an anti-clockwise direction singing the song of Nyikang followed by that of *reth* Dak Nyikang and finally a new song composed in honour of the deceased. After several minutes of dancing in this manner, the crowd moved forward and knelt facing the shrine clapping their hands as a sign of grief. These royal mourning songs reflect the Shilluks' attitude towards their kings. *Agwet wad Nyidhongo piny apath cie Yor wad Nyidhongo labo arieny,* "Agwet wad Nyidhongo, the earth is

[2] These holes are specially dug beforehand and bells and other sacred objects put beneath the drums. For normal social events Shilluk drums are laid horizontally or lean against supports set in the ground.

[1] The significance of this act is not clear and Shilluk merely say that it must be done; it is "according to custom," *kwong*. I have, however, frequently heard it said that the act, *akadh*, is intended to remove impurities which might be harmful to the *reth*. The procedure is followed in all sorts of ritual situations in which the *reth* is concerned. It will be remembered that the *reth* steps over a bull-calf when he leaves Debalo and over a black bull at Arepejur on his way to Fashoda on the first day of the installation ceremonies. It will also be remembered that in the old days, prior to *reth* Fadiet, a man (and a girl) was subjected to the same treatment as the bulls and sheep, and, though it is not true that he invariably died in the process, he was never allowed to come into direct contact with the *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 54 and p. 79, Note 21.

533 destroyed, Yor son of Nyidhongo, the country is ruined," is one of the main
539 refrains of the song of Yor. Other songs refer to the immortality of their
766 *reths*. Of Dak, son of Nyikang, we hear that he only vanished, he did not die.
[775] Of Kweikon, who was killed in battle against the Dervishes at Jebel Gadir,
[173] they sing, *Kurjang* (Kweikon) *cie keny aboi tho nyiwang kecdi tho wadi nini*, " Kurjang the fierce one, when he went out to die he did not fear, fierce one, death is only sleeping."

766 Warriors from the surrounding settlement of Fanyidwai Pac then entered
[576] in battle order, carrying their shields and spears. After a preliminary march round the arena, spears and shields were discarded and only sticks and millet stalks carried. This is usual at Shilluk public ceremonies. Dances continued for three days, men of Fanyikang, Dettim, Fakang and Malakal attended and the procedure was not different. Over two hundred and eighty oxen were slaughtered for the occasion, the tails and some of the horns being hung on the fence surrounding the tomb, while the meat was consumed by the participants.

[783] On the final day, after a great show of dancing and further sacrifices, the ceremony of purification known as *dungo* (or *Yul*) took place. The *bangreth*, *nyireth* and also many other kinsmen of the late *reth* were conducted by the *ororo* into the centre of the village, where an ox was sacrificed while they sat round in the centre. According to strict Shilluk custom, this should have
[177 302] been followed by a general shaving of heads. In fact, they did not do so, possibly because the ritual bathing in the river was considered sufficient purification. No satisfactory explanation for this deviation from custom was forthcoming. It is worth mentioning also that the *okak nam*, latrine, and the *bilo* (or *gol pi*) bath place, of the late *reth*, which are attached to the *gol dwong* and used by him in the past, were fenced off and guarded. Anyone approaching them was seized by the *ororo* and made to pay a small forfeit.

643 The *reth*-elect, Kur *wad* Fafiti, was present on the first day of the *wowo*,
766 as a gesture of respect to his predecessor, for it is not necessary for the new *reth* to be there and he never appears in public. In particular he may not see the relics of Nyikang carried by the *kwa* Nyikir, for these are associated with the death and burial of a *reth*, not with the living.

766 The *kwa* Nyikir then set out for Debwor where a similar ceremony was to be held for the northern Shilluk. I was not myself present and am indebted to Mr. J. L. Baker for the following account.

" On November 21st, the *ororo* and *kwa* Nyikir had returned to Fashoda for the final act in the obsequies of *reth* Dak and arrived there after several days spent on the road. At about 4 p.m., as at Kujo where the actual bodily

remains of the *reth* had been buried, the *kwa* Nyikir took the field in front of four upturned drums. These drums were either those of the village of Debwor or had been borrowed from nearby villages. The anti-clockwise procession of the *kwa* Nyikir then began, each of them hopping over a gourd (*keny*) which was produced as a substitute for a sheep which is normally used on these occasions. The drummers, led by *jago* Bol, their chief, then took up their position round the drums and began to beat them. At Debwor there was no ritual lighting of fire (*pic*) by fire sticks as at Kujo and which had preceded all ceremonies relating to the election of the *reth* and the burial of the old one; possibly the spirit of the late *reth* had left the place. As the drums began to beat, the chiefs of Gerr—with the exception of the chief of Muomo who was in charge of the arrangements for the installation then being made at the shrine at Akurwa and had not come—began to dance with the shuffling gait of a religious dance (*yieko* as opposed to social dances, *cong tugo*) and finally all went up to the hut in which the late *reth's* body had lain for so many months and sang songs to Nyikang outside it just as the chiefs of Luak had done outside the burial hut at Kujo and an ox (*nyijuk*) was speared as a sacrifice. The purport of this song was "we have asked for cows but instead you have beaten us; please restore to us our cows this time." This presumably meant that they were asking for better treatment under the new *reth*, for Dak *wad* Fadiet, "the scourge of Nyikango," had been a most unpopular figure outside his own area.

With this, the important ceremonies were over and the march of the clans followed. The sections which participated were Both, Bol, Nyingaro, Pabur, Agodo, Biu, Thwolong, Yony, Lul, Fashoda, Nyigir, Golbany, Fadheiang, and Lemo. This took two days. Kodok and Golo did not come, possibly because they were too much in favour of the house of Fafiti and had never supported Dak. Thus the pattern of this ceremony in Gerr followed closely that which had been performed in Luak at Kujo, only there was no body to bury. The predatory *ororo* had little to do except the unpleasant one of taking up the bier and skins on which the *reth's* remains had previously lain and rotted and burying them inside the hut and of guarding the sacred mound outside the hut. I had thought that this hut, where the body of the late *reth* had been immured, would be broken down when the remains had been brought out to carry to Kujo, but this was not so, and the *ororo* had the ghoulish task of breaking down the door and collecting the remains into a presentable bundle while the house was still standing. The hut was still in good condition and will not be broken down until later, when the *bangreth* Dak will level the hut to ground, though they will continue to occupy the rest of the village as formerly."

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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512 pounding and grinding the flour in preparation for the evening meal. Some of them will go off to the neighbouring [439] forest to collect firewood to sell to the mission, or they will gather some of the small eggs their undersized hens produce and take them to the Sisters to sell or exchange for a little oil or salt or cloth.

So the day passes: the village drowses under the fierce heat of midday and afternoon, but comes to life again as evening approaches. The men return from the river bringing the results of their day's labour, a few stout cow ropes, a new doormat, or a string of fish to supplement the supplies for the evening meal. The cattle stream in again and are tied up and milked by the boys, the dried cow dung is collected into heaps and set on fire and soon a cloud of thick, acrid smoke drifts low over the village. Fires begin to twinkle through the gathering dusk as preparations are made in the various [262] compounds for the cooking of supper—boiled millet flour again with perhaps the addition of a little fish. The moon is nearly full and by the time supper is finished is sailing high in the heavens, lighting up the village with silvery brilliance.

512 It is the invitation to the dance. A huge fire is lighted in the 535 middle of the dancing floor, the drums are brought out and —on with the dance. Food is plentiful at present and the fishing has been good of late, so they dance because they are happy. Or perhaps food is scarce and there is no fish to be had, and supper has been meagre, or even non-existent. They dance just the same to try to forget their emptiness and misery. Any excuse will suffice, or no excuse at all. The tom-toms begin to throb, boy faces girl, and the dance begins. The booming of the drums and the yelling of the dancers, assisted by a gentleman who winds the same three [533] notes on a kudu horn with maddening persistency, defeat all attempts at sleep in the mission half a mile away. We thump our wet pillows and call down blessings on the merrymakers. The revels continue far into the night, but at last, about midnight, even the Shilluk have had enough and, exhausted, crawl into their huts to sleep. Silence falls on the place, but it is shortly broken by the mournful howl of a prowling hyena.

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The body of the dead king, wrapped in a white cloth, lies in state in his capital of Fashoda. During the course of the second night it is taken secretly to a nearby village for temporary interment, for by tradition the body is not to be buried for about a year after the death of the king, but is placed in a hut which is sealed up. Traditionally, too, the youngest of his wives should be sealed up alive with him, and the hut allowed to fall into ruins and thus form a tomb for them, but happily this dreadful custom is no longer practised.

After an interval of about a year, the remains of the dead king are removed from their temporary resting place and taken, again by night and with secrecy, to his own village where they are buried in a grave dug in the floor of a hut. This is a signal for the people from all over the country to come in for the funeral dances. The number of people who attend the dances is indicative of the popularity that the late king enjoyed among his subjects, and so too is the number of cattle sacrificed. This may run into several hundreds, some of which are contributed by the family of the deceased, but most being the tribute of chiefs and people. The meat of the slaughtered animals is distributed among those taking part in the funeral ceremonies.

Two or three days after the king has been buried, on a day appointed, the warriors armed with spears and war shields and in well-ordered companies, each headed by a flag bearer and marshalled according to the district from which they come, encircle the outside of the village, singing songs in praise of Nyikang and the late king. They then enter the village and dance round the drums and the tomb, stopping at a concerted signal to kneel in homage to the dead, facing the tomb, clashing spear on shield and addressing funeral chants to the king. Once more they encircle the village, this time on the inside, visiting each of the late king's huts in turn, some stepping out of the ranks and peering into the empty huts as though searching for the king and then retiring to give place to the next contingent. Thus the funeral ceremonies continue for two or three days, but

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and the bamboo socket into which it is fitted is shorter and thicker. Behind the effigies are carried Nyikang's 'bed', a long forked stick upon which he is propped at night and a basket of food for his refreshment during the journey. The bearers are surrounded by men of the same clan whose duty it is to keep spectators at a distance, and behind follow Shilluk from the district into which the procession has entered, who act as an escort as far as the next section. The march is kept up at a good pace to the accompaniment of songs sung in honour of Nyikang and Dak. At sunset a halt is made at the nearest large village. Nyikang and Dak are put away for the night, Nyikang being propped up on his 'bed' so that he doesn't touch the ground. His bearers and escort are accommodated in the village, huts being evacuated to receive them and food prepared for them. The next morning the march is resumed, the people flocking to the road from all sides to pay homage to their hero-king as he passes by and joining in the unceasing chants of praise in his honour. Eventually, after some five days on the road, the environments of Fashoda are reached. A village, Adodo, has been set aside for Nyikang and his followers, and they rest there until the day appointed for the installation, about three days hence. During all this time the reth-elect has remained in Fashoda, but when he is informed that Nyikang has arrived at Adodo, he moves away from the capital and takes up his residence at Debalo, a few miles to the south. Nyikang is, as it were, in rightful possession of the territory, and the king-to-be is in the position of an intruder until he has proved his fitness to rule.

Between Fashoda and Debalo lies a long narrow water course, Khor Arepejur. This khor is the traditional boundary fixed by Nyikang himself, between the north and the south. On the morning of the first day of the installation ceremonies, the reth-elect and his followers march towards the khor, the reth leading by the hand a little girl who is his 'bride' and who later will be the cause of a dispute between Nyikang and himself. Arrived at the khor the reth finds stretched out across his path a black bull, over which he steps. (Formerly

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Whatever the cause of death, burial follows at once except in the case of a king, when there is a short lying in state. If the deceased is a Nyireth or a chief, he is buried under the floor of his principal hut. A bull is killed, the meat of which is eaten by the grave-diggers, whilst the skin is cut into strips and woven across a quickly fashioned wooden, four-legged frame to make a bed or a bier. The body is washed and the head shaved. Arms, neck and waist are adorned with beads and a leopard skin fastened round the loins. The corpse is then rolled in a new white cloth and around this is bound a cow skin. It is then placed on the bed with a hen under the head. Meanwhile the work of digging the grave has been going on apace. This is a very difficult task, particularly in the dry season when the ground is as hard as concrete. The pit made is a very large one, since it has to accommodate the complete bier. It is taken down to a depth of six or seven feet and then a large cavity is cut in the side, large enough to contain the bed. The body resting on the bier is then lowered into the grave and fitted into the cavity. As this is being done the wailing of the women fills the air and the men salute the dead prince or chief, clashing their spears on their shields and singing songs in his praise. The principal wife takes two handfuls of sweepings from the floor and, standing with her back to the grave, throws them over her shoulders into the grave. Then she casts in two handfuls of mud, again standing with her back to the grave but with her hands by her sides, so that she throws the mud behind her. After the grave is filled in, all the mourners wash themselves in the river. They wear ropes round their necks as a sign of mourning, shave their heads and remove all beads and ornaments, and during the period of mourning should abstain from dancing. Four days after the burial the mourners gather again for the completion of the grave. Beer has been prepared and some if it is poured on the grave; the mound is then plastered over with mud and neatly smoothed and finished off. A short funeral dance follows after which all the mourners partake of the remainder of the beer.

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766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead

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765 songs the while. Since this is a more modest affair than the
535 dance for a prince or a chief, the whole company can remain in the arena during the whole afternoon. The matrons too, but not the young girls, take part in the dancing, marching in a small circle round the drums, some carrying a spear or a sword or a stick 'at the slope'.

There is a pause in the proceedings and a sudden hush
[533] falls on the gathering. The song maker who all the afternoon has been leading the singing with tremendous voice and energy, now stands by the stilled tom-toms and chants the names of those who are being commemorated that day. The drumming and singing, the dancing and the marching recommence and continue until about an hour before sun-
[273] set. Beer in large quantities has been prepared for the hoarse and dust-choked warriors, and as they drink, the
765 cattle are distributed among the various villages taking part. Each beast is slaughtered near the hut of one of those whose death is the reason for the celebration, and the meat is divided by the village chiefs and portions allotted to different householders in each village. As one may well imagine, the
[578] division, first of the cattle and then of the meat, is not carried out in any spirit of amity and fraternal charity, but is accompanied by much wrangling and acrimony between village and village and individual and individual.

It is dark before everybody is satisfied, or rather, has got all that he is likely to get, and the dancers, some happily bearing a bloody burden, others grumbling at the smallness of their portion, stream along the road to their homes and supper. All obligations to the dead are satisfied; may they rest in peace.